

CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

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FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH MEETING  
held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Thursday, 2 July 1970, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mrs. A. MEDAL

(Sweden)

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(Previous verbatim records in this series appeared under the symbols  
ENDC/FV.1-ENDC/FV.430).

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PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Argentina:

Mr. G. ONTIL de ROZAS  
Mr. A.F. DUMONT  
Mr. V.E. BENASATEGUI  
Mr. M.E. DELPECH

Brazil:

Mr. R.E. SARAIVA GUERREIRO  
Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA  
Mr. L.F. PALMEIRA LAMPREIA

Bulgaria:

Mr. T. PETROV  
Mr. I. PEIMIRDJIEV

Burma:

U KYAW AIN

Canada:

Mr. G. IGNATIEFF  
Mr. R.W. CLARK  
Mr. R.E. MOORE

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. M. VEJVODA  
Mr. J. STRUCKA  
Mr. F. MARESKA

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE  
Mr. G. AIEMU

Hungary:

Mr. J. PETRAN  
Mr. I. SARKADI  
Mr. F. GAJDA

India:

Mr. M.A. HUSAIN  
Mr. N. KRISHNAN

Italy:

Mr. R. CASACCILO  
Mr. F.L. OTTIERI  
Mr. R. BORSARELLI  
Mr. U. FLSTAILOZZA

Japan:

Mr. H. TANAKA  
Mr. H. OTSUKA  
Mr. T. SENGOKU  
Mr. T. OSA

Mexico:

Mr. B. SEPULVEDA  
Mr. R. VALERO

Mongolia:

Mr. D. ERDENBIEG  
Mr. B. DASHTSEREN  
Mrs. D. BALJINNYAM

Morocco:

Mr. M.A.A. NEATTABI  
Mr. A. BENKIRANE

Netherlands:

Mr. H.F. ESCHAUZIER  
Mr. E. BOS

Nigeria:

Mr. C.O. HOLLIST  
Mr. L.A. MALIKI

Pakistan:

Mr. K. AHMED  
Mr. T.O. HYDER

Poland:

Mr. W. NATORF  
Mr. K. ZIDYLSKI  
Mr. K. STEPOSZ

Romania:

Mr. I. DATCU  
Mr. C. MITRAN  
Mr. N. CHILIE

Sweden:

Mrs. A. NYDAL  
Mr. A. EDELSTAM  
Mr. T. BENGTSON  
Mr. J. FRAWITZ

Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN  
Mr. I.I. TCHEPROV  
Mr. L.A. MASTERKOV  
Mr. Y.C. NAZARKINE

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF  
Mr. C. SERRY  
Mr. M. ISMAIL

United Kingdom:

Mr. I.F. PORTER  
Mr. J.T. WASEFIELD  
Mr. R. HOULISTON  
Mr. L.W. BOYES

United States of America:

Mr. J.F. LEONARD  
Mr. A.F. NEEDIE  
Mr. W. GIVAN  
Mr. R.L. McCORMACK

Yugoslavia:

Mr. M. BOZINOVIC

Deputy Special Representative  
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): I declare open the 475th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.
2. Mr. CARACCILOLO (Italy): The problem of a comprehensive programme for general and complete disarmament has been a matter of constant concern for the Italian delegation. We have always been prompted by the preoccupation that all the engagements to be undertaken in order to achieve our common goal should be shared, if not equally, at least in accordance with some agreed criteria, among the different States concerned. Though a perfect balance is hard to strike in this matter, as in any international negotiation, it seems to us that it is easier to achieve a fair division of burdens by including them in a comprehensive frame or programme than by taking up various measures separately, guided only by circumstances.
3. Of course we recognize the validity of the thesis that all disarmament measures must be viewed in the political context of the moment; but we believe that that assumption does not exclude the possibility, not to say the necessity, of a programme flexible enough to allow for updating whenever necessary, in order to examine all the implications of the different measures of disarmament and, consequently, to help maintain a fair balance among them. The existence of such a programme would also -- in our opinion -- allow for a better understanding of the interrelation between and the implications of the various measures of disarmament and might help to overcome some of the obstacles that would arise in their application; therefore it could have an accelerating and a positive effect on the entire process of disarmament.
4. In line with those central ideas the Italian delegation has, since last year, been setting forth some thoughts on the matter in the hope of stimulating a wider discussion in this Conference. I refer particularly to our working paper dated 21 April 1969 (ENDC/245) in which we submitted some suggestions for the adoption of an organic disarmament programme. Subsequently, in the course of the informal meeting convened on 20 August 1969, we submitted a statement (ENDC/269) in which we tried to explain more clearly the kind of programme of disarmament we had in mind.
5. Our action in favour of a study for a comprehensive programme continued through the debates in the First Committee at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly and found its logical expression in the presentation of a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.499) by the Italian, Japanese and Irish delegations. That draft resolution, which was approved by the General Assembly by 105 votes to none, with thirteen abstentions, now stands before us as resolution 2602 E (XXIV) (CCD/275).

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

6. Again, at our winter session this year, in a statement made on 26 February (CCD/PV.453, para. 15), the Italian delegation expressed the view that the establishment of a comprehensive programme is something more than the preparation of a mere priority list of measures to be considered. In that statement we pointed out that, according to the wording of the General Assembly resolution, that programme should cover all the aspects of the problem, including those which had been referred to by the representative of Sweden in her statement of 18 February (CCD/PV.450) and by the representative of the Netherlands in his working paper (CCD/276). We added, on that occasion, that the long and difficult operation we were confronted with required a pragmatic approach and, at the same time, imaginative efforts; that this work should take as a starting point a number of simple criteria on the basis of which it should be fairly easy to evolve a common opinion that would increasingly develop, finally becoming the object of negotiations and firm commitments by all countries.
7. We thought then that our first step should be to find the methods of work most appropriate for achieving this objective. Therefore, the practical suggestion put forward in our statement of 26 February was that a working group open to all delegations should be established and should meet regularly without affecting the negotiations in the full Committee on specific and collateral measures. Only as an alternative suggestion, we referred to other unofficial means that could make it possible for exchanges of views between delegations to proceed without interruption (CCD/PV.453, para. 17).
8. We also tried to make clear in that statement that this extensive period of consultations between delegations concerned, either in an official or in an unofficial working group, should be limited to the first phase of our session, while in a second phase -- which corresponds to the present session of our Conference -- the Committee could begin to consider this important problem at its official meetings (*ibid.*, para.18).
9. Following our statement of 26 February we waited the entire month of March for other initiatives on this important subject to be taken or for a response to be made to our suggestions. It was only at the beginning of April that contacts were established spontaneously among a certain number of delegations that meanwhile had expressed, in their official statements or in private conversations, views similar to our own as to the best way to get some action started.

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

10. I should therefore like to make it perfectly clear to the whole Committee that at no moment was there any desire whatever to preclude any delegation from participating in our exchange of views, and that the setting up of the group that met regularly during the entire month of April was the result of a spontaneous gesture and was not based on any political or geographical criteria. It was a desire for efficiency that prompted us to confine our initial effort to the limited number of representatives who had expressed views similar to our own; and more than once in our meetings we expressed the common desire to enlarge our consultations progressively without prejudicing the efficacy of our exercise.

11. Let me add that our efforts to find some kind of common language on such a wide problem were by no means secret; that every other delegation here, through various channels, was well aware of the nature and general direction of our efforts; and also that at no time during that period did we hear any criticism of our initiative but, on the contrary, we received a good deal of encouragement. I shall limit myself to recalling the following words used by the United Kingdom representative, Lord Chalfont, in his statement of 30 April:

"... I am extremely happy and encouraged to see that there is a great deal of work being done behind the scenes on the question of general and complete disarmament, and it is encouraging to see how ideas on that are now being formulated. I for one look forward very much to seeing how that develops when we return here after the recess." (CCD/PV.469, para.3)

At the same meeting the United States representative, speaking on resolution 2602 E (XXIV) (CCD/275), said:

"Some delegations have already begun to give this question careful attention, and we are confident that the ideas which they have been developing, together with the thoughts that other Committee members may bring back after the recess, will be a positive contribution to our work this summer." (CCD/PV.469, para. 72)

12. By then we had reached the end of April, and because of the adjournment of the Conference our group too had to interrupt its work. During the short period we had met, from 5 April to the end of that month, more ideas were exchanged than we managed to put on paper. The problem we had started to tackle was so wide that some time had to elapse before the various approaches to this problem could converge in a

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

common line of thought and be translated into common language. That is why, even if the actual wording we finally agreed upon does not carry us very far towards finding a satisfactory answer to the many questions that were raised, we honestly believe that our efforts were useful and that they could constitute a basis or a starting-point for further elaboration in this Committee.

13. While we were conscious of the incompleteness of our work and of the necessity of filling in the blanks we had left because of the limited time at our disposal, we also found ourselves in complete agreement on the necessity, before going any further, to set forth to the full Committee the modest result of our first endeavours in order to find here a larger field of agreement. We would certainly be very happy and satisfied if these efforts in the field of general and complete disarmament could somehow give a stimulus to the proceedings of the Committee.

14. May I now expose to the Committee the "Preliminary considerations representing, in general terms, the views of a number of delegations with which the delegation of Italy has been in consultation"?

15. In the first paragraph, entitled "Goal, principles and mandates", these delegations recalled: that United Nations General Assembly resolution 1378 (XIV) of 20 November 1959 and the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles of 20 September 1961 (ENDC/5), endorsed by United Nations General Assembly resolution 1722 (XVI), represent the basis for disarmament negotiations and for new efforts towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control; that draft treaties on general and complete disarmament were presented in 1962 by the Soviet Union (ENDC/2/Rev.1) and the United States (ENDC/30 and Add.1-3), and that it had been suggested by several countries that these draft treaties could be revised and brought up to date; that United Nations General Assembly resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of 16 December 1969 requested the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament --

"... to work out ... a comprehensive programme, dealing with all aspects of the problem of the cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which would provide the Conference with a guideline to chart the course of its further work and its negotiations ..." (CCD/275);

and finally that both in the Agreed Principles and in resolution 2602 E (XXIV) it is recognized that negotiations should continue with a view to reaching agreements on partial or collateral measures, facilitating and forming part of a programme of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

16. In a second paragraph, entitled "Main elements of the programme", it was pointed out that progress in disarmament is not an isolated matter but is intimately connected with and influenced by problems of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes; that in order to establish the international climate of confidence and good will necessary for progress, specific measures to build up confidence should urgently be agreed upon, including special studies on certain subjects. May I note at this point that the choice of topics to be studied was left for subsequent elaboration?
17. It was further pointed out in this paragraph that, while progress is being made to build up confidence, the States members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should engage themselves to negotiate meaningful measures to prevent and limit armament as well as measures of disarmament, taking into account, inter alia, the special studies mentioned above. It was also recognized that, in the achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control through measures to prevent and limit armament as well as through measures of disarmament, there should be a balance among these categories of measures.
18. We come now to a third paragraph, entitled "Phases of the programme". There it was recalled that the need for flexibility had been generally recognized and that the highest priority should be accorded to measures for the cessation of the nuclear arms race and for nuclear disarmament. It was then suggested that, taking into account the Agreed Principles and the United Nations General Assembly resolutions mentioned above, and further taking into account agreements already achieved on collateral measures, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should envisage dealing in successive phases with the main elements mentioned under the second paragraph. It was also recognized that an attempt should be made to decide upon these various phases and to outline the possible content of each phase. Again let me point out that the content of each phase was also left as a blank for further elaboration. It was further proposed that a review of the programme of disarmament could take place each year in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.
19. Finally, in a fourth paragraph, entitled "General considerations", it was suggested that various problems closely related to disarmament negotiations would have to be examined. The following ones were tentatively singled out for further discussion and elaboration: priorities, balance, verification, regional arrangements, universal participation, public opinion and methods of work.

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

20. I do not wish for the moment to make any comments on wording that is the result of a common effort which the other representatives with whom I had the honour of working have entrusted me with explaining, in their name, in this plenary meeting. I feel that any comment at this moment on my part could alter the character of my statement today, whose only aim is to trace the origin and the cause of the convening of our group and to present its work in the most faithful and objective way.

21. I wish only to express here my sincere thanks to my colleagues for the confidence they have shown in me, and to assure the entire Committee that my delegation stands ready to continue, at any time and in any framework, the elaboration of the work we initiated in our limited group. Ours was only a coup d'envoi to a ball we hope will keep rolling for a long time.

22. Of course I reserve the right to intervene at a later stage of the discussion and to express whatever ideas or suggestions the Italian delegation may wish to elaborate on the problem of a comprehensive programme, to which it attaches the utmost importance.

23. The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): I now call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

24. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): Mr. Kutakov, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, is at present in Geneva, at the Palais des Nations. Since a meeting of a Committee that is within his sphere of competence is in progress, it would be entirely appropriate for him to be invited to the meeting on the same basis as that on which Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, Under-Secretary-General, has participated in our meetings. I would therefore request you, Madam Chairman, to invite Mr. Kutakov, Under-Secretary-General, to take part in our meeting.

25. The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): The representative of the Soviet Union has raised the question whether the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs should be invited to participate in today's meeting. Does any representative wish to comment?

26. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): This being a procedural matter, I wonder whether it might not be appropriate for the Committee to have a short recess in order that this matter may be considered, perhaps between the co-Chairmen of the Conference.

27. The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): The representative of the United States has proposed a brief recess before this procedural matter is taken up by the Committee. If there is no objection we will have a brief recess.

It was so decided.

The meeting was suspended at 11 a.m. and resumed at 11.30 a.m.

28. The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): The Committee is aware that a procedural question has arisen. A proposal has now been made jointly by the co-Chairmen to postpone the meeting until tomorrow at 10.30 a.m. If there are no objections, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament today held its 475th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Mrs. Alva Myrdal, representative of Sweden.

"Statements were made by the representatives of Italy, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and the Chairman.

"The 475th meeting of the Conference will be continued on Friday, 3 July 1970, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting was suspended at 11.35 a.m.